# Full Text of Elihu Root's Keynote Speech at Republican State Convention Miller Applauded For His Economies

**Temporary Chairman Says Great Savings** Were Effected While Vast Public Enterprises Were Launched and Put Into Operation

ALBANY, Sept. 27 .- Following is the text of Elihu Root's keynote speech at the opening of the Republican State Convention:

The most important question in the coming New York State election will be whether the great busy, orderly, good-natured majority are going to attend seriously to their part of the business of government. It is a question of the amount of interest taken by the men and women who haven't any axes to grind, who are not trying to get anything out of government except the ends of government that affect everybody alike; order and liberty, efficient protection to life and property, prompt and impartial justice, good sanitation, good roads, good schools, economy in public expenditure, efficiency in public service, moderation and fair distribution in taxation. Will the men and women who want these things, and seek no special privileges or profits from government for themselves, realize their duty?

Let me try to state the situation as I see it.

For a period which began before the World War there has been a steady increase in the activities and the cost of state government. Expenses, appropriations, pay rolls, tax levies, all have steadily mounted up higher and higher. We have all been talking about it, the newspapers have printed countless articles about it; years ago it became apparent that the process must be checked or government would run into bankruptcy or be saved from bankruptcy only by

ernment would run into bankruptcy or be saved from bankruptcy only by imposing upon the people of the state burdens of taxation which would destroy prosperity. Yet no imposing upon the people of the state burdens of taxation which would destroy prosperity. Yet no one appeared to be able to stop the process of inflation. The continual increase was occasioned partly by the increase in population; partly by necessary and proper extensions of governmental activity to meet new conditions of living; partly by the pressure of organized minorities and special groups, who sought special expenditures from government, and whose power to punish politically made resistance to their demands difficult; partly by the increased desire to share in the distribution of public funds created by observing freedom of distribution; partly by the inevitable looseness of expenditure incident to a government whose organization formed under similar conditions had never been adapted to more complicated conditions, and partly by that universal weakness of human nature which makes it easier to spend other people's money than to make political or personal enemies by refusal.

The process which I have described was reinforced by the demoralizing influences of the Great War; the habit of indifference to cost under the necessities of war; the habit of limited the content war; the habit of indifference to cost under the necessities of war; the habit of limited the content war.

the necessities of war; the habit of those and profligate expenditure which is associated with every great war; the widespread appetite for public plunder cultivated by getting easy money from public treasuries. Under this influence the process of state extravagance was accelerated, at the very time when we were all demanding that it be checked. Our state government did not stand alone in this process. The same thing went on with the Federal government; the same thing went on to an even worse degree under the government of the City of New York: But that makes the situation rather worse than better. Over-taxation by the Federal government to the fine situation are the state, which we have seen for years running wild in extravagance with nobody seeming able to stop it.

I am not charging criminality upon any one. I am stating facts which plainly result from having the government controlled by the weakness of human nature rather than by its strength.

Let me state the figures of the ap-

its strength.

Let me state the figures of the appriations of public money made by he Legislature of New York, for the legate ending on the 30th of June,

The general budget appropriations for all purposes made from the funds of the state each year for the

next suc	ceeding year were:
in 1911	\$43,074,192.58
1912	
1913	59,465,690,97
1914 1915	47,899,527,74
1916	
1917	
1918	81,525,271.31
1919	95.840,983.77
1920	
This i	ncrease from \$43,074,000 in
TRYT TO S	145,219,000 in 1996 were were
state en	oling the expenditures of the

state government in ten years. The increase of the annual appropriations amounted to 23 per cent of the total appropriations made in 1911.

### Public Economy Replaces Period of Extravagance

During the same period the popula-tion of the state increased less than 14 per cent, from 9,113,614 under the census of 1910 to 10,384,829 under the census of 1920. We were increas-ing our expenditure more than six-teen times as rapidly as we were in-creasing our noulation.

creasing our population.

Nor does this tell the whole story. So strongly was the current of lavish expenditure running that the official budget requests for appropriations which confronted the Legislature of which confronted the Legislature of 1921 amounted to \$201,644,292.43, and to these were to be added necessary appropriations, chiefly for debt service but included in the budget, amounting to \$4,621,545.61, making a grand total which that Legislature was expected to appropriate \$200. grand total which that Legislature was expected to appropriate of \$206, 265,838.04, an increase over the appropriations of 1920, of \$61,045,921.44. At the time, when the pressure of its enormous war debt obliged the Federal government to tax the people of the country to the limit, our state government was obliged to range over the same field for subjects of new and additional taxation to meet its enormous and stadily in. to meet its enormous and steadily in-creasing expenditures. Everybody could see that this process could not go on, yet no one seemed able to stop it. To stop such a process is not easy. Nothing is more difficult and painful than contraction. Every-hods who enjoys the furtherance of body who enjoys the furtherance of his own projects or his own profits by the extravagance of government wishes the contraction to be applied somewhere else Every applied somewhere else. Every appropriation refused and every cut in the pay roll

A STATE OF THE STA

makes powerful and active enemies. Secret revenges set misrepresentation and prejudice to work to frustrate or revenge the policy of retrenchment by making flank attacks on pretended grounds. Political and business and social and personal influences stand in the way with specious arguments for excepcal and business and social and personal influences stand in the way with specious arguments for exceptions to the policy, which, if allowed, would presently become the rule and destroy the policy. The liberal and expansive administration is popular and praised. The economical administration is hated and abused. One receives from its beneficiaries grateful recognition and prophecies of political success and personal preferment to great and still greater office; while the other inevitably proceeds in an atmosphere of promised disaster.

We need not impute either wrong doing or wrong motives to the managers of our state government during this period of increasing expenditure. We must consider, however, that during a period when the country's enormous war debt demanded retrenchment, and when the impoverishment of the civilized world by war, and the diminished purchasing power of the world for all products of industry, demanded personal and public thrift and economy, the people of the State of New York had failed to secure economy in their own government.

In the election of November, 1920,

the people of the State of New York had failed to secure economy in their own government.

In the election of November, 1920, however, the people of the state elected a Governor who happened to have exactly the qualities needed for leadership in a change of the business of the state from public extravagance to public economy and efficiency. I say happened because there is always an element of chance when a man is selected for new duties. We all knew that Nathan L. Miller had been an honest and efficient Comptroller of the state. We all knew that he had been an able and impartial judge of the Supreme Court and of the Court of Appeals of the state. But nobody knew—nobody could know—whether he had the special qualities necessary to stop the habit of increasing extravagance in the state government.

he had the special qualities necessary to stop the habit of increasing extravagance in the state government. It appears that he had those qualities. We now know from the test of experience that we were fortunate in finding just the right man for this difficult task.

Governor Miller knew the public business of the state. He did not have to depend upon the ex-parte statement of any bureau chief or any interested party in the state's transactions. He knew the life of the state and its people, its politics and politicians, its business and business men, its farm life and its city life, its production and its trade. To an active and alert intelligence he adds a trained faculty for thorough and systematic study of difficult questions and a cheerful willingness to do hard work. He always knows where he stands and is able to command the consciousness of knowing the true conditions with which he has to deal. He has perfect courage; not the kind of courage which a man succeeds in overcoming fear; but the habitual and instinctive courage which leads a man to do his duty without thinking at all what is going to happen to him. He is not only considerate and fair in the performance of his official duties, but the sincerity and firmhim. He is not only considerate and fair in the performance of his official duties, but the sincerity and firmness of his character carry to others a conviction that they may expect justice in treatment of them. He is free from the infirmities of temper which breed hatred and the subtleties which invite suspicion and distrust. He has the frankness and truth natural to courage. He is simple and direct in speech, without duplicity, He never talks for the galleries. And he commands belief. He duplicity. He never talks for the gal-leries. And he commands belief. He has perfect indifference to his own political future. He is thinking about his job—not about himself. He is not playing the part of Governor in order to be President or Senator or to be re-elected Governor. He is simply doing what ho thinks is wise and just and for the benefit of the state. He did not seek the office of Governor—it sought him. He is not seeking office now; it is seeking him.

### Appropriations in City

Mount in Meantime With these qualities, Governor Miller, with his loyal co-adjutors, has stopped the growth of expense in the state government. He has turned the tide. He has changed the tone of government. He has given leadership to the men in the legislative and executive departments who had been struggling valuly against the current of extravagance. They have increased the efficiency of the executive force by decreasing the pay roll nearly 10 per cent. Instead of increased appropriations, there have been decreased appropriations. The Legislature of 1921, instead of increasing appropriations \$61,000,000 The Legislature of 1921, instead of increasing appropriations \$61,000,000 above those of 1920, as the budget demanded, reduced appropriations to \$135,752,283.66, a decrease of \$9,467,-\$135.752,283.66, a decrease of \$9,467,622.94 from the appropriations of 1920, and a cut of over \$70,000,000 from the budget demands with which they started—notwithstanding the fact that a deficiency appropriation of \$10,476,773.57 had to be made for expenditures authorized, but not covered by the 1920 appropriation of \$145.000,000. That meant a reduction of expense of government of over \$18,000,000. The new spirit created by this right about face of the state government appeared when created by this right about face of the state government appeared when the budget demands of 1922 came in at \$145,019,665.08, less than the de-mands of 1921 by \$62,372,172.96. Upon this budget the appropriations of 1922 were held down to \$133,147,-807.34, a decrease from the 1920 ap-propriations of \$12,072,099.26, and

budget demands.

That this change was not due to That this change was not due to some accidental circumstance is apparent from the fact that in the same period the appropriations of the City of New York, under that political control which is now seeking to substitute a man of their own choice in the Governor's chair, increased from .....\$263,475,328,76 in 1920 to ..........\$34,543,756.57 in 1922

An increase of. \$71,068,427.81 In this same period the direct tax

A reduction of. \$15,129,823.63

Mean time no floating debt was created, no money was borrowed, no obligations were deferred, no sinking fund payment was omitted, and the surplus of money in the treasury of the state was increased to ....\$41,251,294.18 in 1922 from .....31,503,409.63 in 1920

An increase of. \$9,747,884.55 These figures indicate the results of applying to the great and complicated business of the State of New York the same kind of principles and methods which everywhere cause the difference between success and failure in great business concerns. There was reorganization and condensation was reorganization and condensation and a testing of the grounds of expenditure. One good illustration of the method followed was the treatment of charitable institutions, one of the chief items of state expenditure and one of the most important. It is exceedingly difficult to test the merit of claims in behalf of these institutions. Accordingly Governor Miller proceeded himself to visit all the institutions of this descripton supported by the state. By the time that was through he was not only familiar with the special conditions and administrative defects of these institutions, but he was an expert on the administration of charitable institutions. And the general testimony of the people most familiar with these institutions is that the thorough knowledge acquired by Governor Miller of their administration has resulted in greater efficiency at less cost. Morcover, we have now a Governor who, when an institution calls upon the state for more money, knows whether it needs the money or merely wants it.

merely wants it.

Nor was this radical change in the attude of the state government toward the expenditure of public money a mere negative policy. Reductions were not made by abandoning or injuring the useful activities of the state. The result was accomplished without impairing the efficiency of any department or curtailing any work for public benefit that needed to be done. There was no autocratic control or usurpation of power, but full co-operation of Executive and Legislature, with respect and confidence. The Governor was able to say truly in his message of May 7, 1921, that the great achievement of that year "was made possible by the painstaking work of the respective chairmen of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly, and to their rigid adherence to stated rules uninfluenced by any personal consideration whatever." It would have been impossible without executive leadership and it would have been impossible without legislative firmness and loyalty. The vital thing was changing the spirit of the state government and substituting for a good-natured desire to please and to be popular, a stout-hearted determination that no state money should be spent except to serve the direct interests of the people of the state. This policy was administered with a far-sighted view to promote rather than to check the development and growth of the state. To the projects of the greatest importance for the prosperity of the state was brought liberal treatment and that decision of character which is necessary to the practical accomplishment of ends.

For a century the canal connecting the Great Lakes and the tidewater of the Atlantic had been a central feature of the material development of the Eric Canal, under De Witt Clinton, chiefly rested the pre-eminence of the City of New York as the great seaport of America, and the activity and wealth of the state which owns and controls that port and its approaches. From the production and trade fostered by that great waterway rose the ser

wealths which new perhaps have forgotten the debt they owe.

Yet how dispiriting has been the later history of this great public work. It became out of touch with its time. The volume of trade tells the story of something wrong about the canal. The total tonnage of all the canals of the state was:

In 1890 5.246.102 tons

In 1890. 5,246,102 tons 1900. 3,345,941 tons 1910. 3,073,412 tons 1920. 1,421,434 tons

The total tonnage delivered to the Hudson River from the Eric Canal and the barge canal, which took its place, for the same years was: 1890..... 1,693,128 tons 

The state had spent upward of \$150,000,000 in Barge Canal construction along the line of the old Eric. The Barge Canal was opened from Lake Eric to the Hudson in 1918, and in 1920 it was carrying one-sixth part as much freight to the

Hudson as the old Erie Canal did thirty years before. To the revival of this great enterprise Governor Miller's administration brought the same kind of treatment which makes great business enterprises succeed. The first step was to secure for the management of the Canal an experienced and competent man whose business it was to manage transportation lines. That was done. Study of this transportation line showed the canal needed to be deepened for the use of larger boats. It was deepened. It showed that the canal needed to be better lighted for use at night. It was better lighted, It showed that the shippers of grain needed to be free from the control of elevator owners, whether directed by railroads or otherwise. A million dollars is being used for the construction of a state grain elevator in Brooklyn for the use of shippers by the Barge Canal, and a million and a half dollars has been appropriated for the improvement of the Harlem River to make more safe and ready access to the Brooklyn terminals. half dollars has been appropriated for the improvement of the Harlem River to make more safe and ready access to the Brooklyn terminals. The result is that the great New York canal system, forgotten by the business world, is beginning to come back to its own. The traffic upon the canal delivered to the Hudson River rose from 281,361 tons to 529,902 tons during the year 1921, and for the first eight months of 1922 the total canal traffic was at the rate of 2,300,000 tons per annum, an increase of about 58 per cent. This was done with a decrease in the cost of maintenance of the canal of over \$600,000.

I have mentioned certain material things that were done to the Barge Canal to make it available for present-day business, but these were mere incidents. What that great activity of the state needed most was a revival of the spirit that DeWitt Clinton had when he dug the ditch; the kind of spirit that the great builders of America had when they conquered the continent for American enterprise and American homes; and that snift Nathan Miller

ican enterprise and American homes; and that spirit Nathan Miller brought to the leadership of our state government in the resurrection of that great public utility.

### Steps to Relieve

### Harber Situation

For many years we have been grumbling and seeking remedies for the enormous port and terminal charges in the Harbor of New York, which are an intolerable burden upon the form and terminal control of which are an intolerable burden upon the farms and upon the consumers of the state. For a long time the waterfront of New York had been held in private ownership and fault was found with the wharfage charges. Then in order to relieve commerce the city acquired the ownership of the waterfront. The result of that was found with the wharfage charges. Then in order to relieve commerce the city acquired the ownership of the waterfront. The result of that effort is that the dock property belonging to the City of New York is valued at \$212,000,000, and it is credibly asserted that the city leases its docks at low or nominal rates to favored individuals and corporations and the lessees get the profits from charges which make the cost of docking in New York the highest in the world. This appears by testimony taken under cath before a join legislativa committee which reported on the 30th of January, 1922. The report enumerates twenty-four city piers leased by the city for \$1,494,717 and sublet by the lessees for enumerates twenty-four city piers leased by the city for \$1,494,717 and sublet by the lessees for enumerates twenty-four city piers leased by the city for \$1,494,717 and sublet by the lessees for enumerates twenty-four city piers leased by the city for \$1,494,717 and sublet by the lessees for a profit of over 280 per cent. I will quote a paragraph from the committee's report illustrating the way in which this was done:

"The Maritime Shipping Company, a concern without capital, not maritime, and owning no ships, occupied Pier 72, at the foot of East Twenty-fourth Street, from September 1, 1919, to November 14, 1920, at an annual rental of \$40,000, and rented berthing privileges at a net annual profit of \$61,000 over the rent paid.

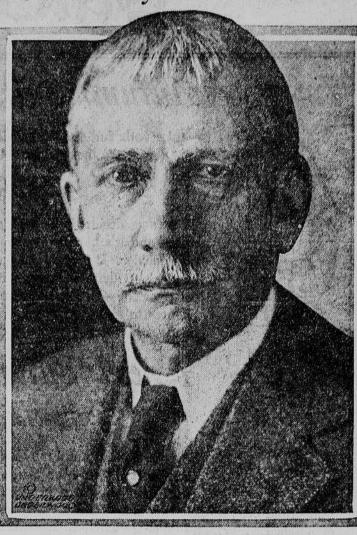
"Sabbatino & Co., a concern composed of a young saloon keeper's helper, who was later interested in a small moving picture house, and a ship's clerk without capital, and not engaged in shipping, received from the Dock Department a large number of berthing permits between June 7, 1918, and September 22, 1921, which they sublet to ships entering the port. While their records were destroyed or suppressed, numerous cases of such rentals showing a profit of from 66 to 400 per cent over the amount paid the Dock Department were established. They were permitted a credit account with the Dock Departme

mittees."
One special way of distributing the moneys exacted from commerce for the use of these docks is reported by the committee. It is by forcing the policing of the docks into the hands the committee. It is by forcing the policing of the docks into the hands of private agencies whose service was a charge upon the commerce using the docks. Under this system the official figures show there were employed in policing the docks of New York in the year 1920—12,000 men at a cost of \$36,850,000—more men and at a higher cost than in the entire public police force of New York with its six million inhabitants.

These things illustrate the reason why it costs more to get a barrel of apples from the waterfront of New York to the grocer than it does from Niagara County, four hundred miles away, to the New York waterfront.

Harding-As He Is Seen by Root

# Sounded Keynote at Convention



Elihu Root, ex-Secretary of State

These things illustrate one reason why the farmer gets low prices for his products and the city consumer pays high prices for his food, and the profit leaks out somewhere between the two. We have long known and felt this evil, but every remedy proposed has been strangled by some other proposal and nothing has been done. Now something effective is being done. That decision of character which marks the natural executive has been brought to bear upon the situation. Three things are being done: First, the canal terminals. Second, the tunnel under the Hudson for vehicles and foot passengers to relieve the congestion terminals. Second, the tunnel under the Hudson for vehicles and foot passengers to relieve the congestion of freight and make the use of the city docks to that extent unnecessary. This is to cost \$29,000,000, and is to be paid in equal parts by the states of New Jersey and New York; and our State Legislature has already appropriated \$10,500,000 of the \$14,-500,000 required. These appropriations were part of the reduced economy budgets that I have been speaking of. The reduction could have been made larger by the omission of these items, and that would doubtless have been done had the policy followed been merely to acquire credit for economy. But wise policy for the state demanded the expenditure and it is being made. More than four-fifths of the state lies west of the Hudson River. Thousands of miles of territory naturally tributary to the Fort of New York lie west of the Hudson River. Inexpensive access to that great market affects every farm in the great region which feeds the city millions.

\*\*Tammany Fights Work\*\*

#### Tammany Fights Work Of the Port Authority

The third and most important step toward relieving the situation which has oppressed commerce in the Port of New York has been the creation of an enlarged and consolidated port authority. Stretching for many miles about Manhattan Island is a great area of land and water adapted to the construction of piers and docks and not within the jurisdiction of the City of New York. Through the center of this area runs the dividing line between the states of New York and New Jersey under concurrent legislation, adopted by the legis-control over parts of the area. Many great railroads have their terminals on either side of the dividing state line, to receive and deposit and distribute freight and passengers. No single power has had the control necessary to systematize and regulate the vast activities of receipt and delivery of products, either for ocean commerce or for distribution among the millions inhabitating the great city and its suburbs. Commissions of both states have been studying the subject since 1917, and during this present administration, in the year 1921, an agreement was concluded between the states of New York and New Jersey under concurrent legislation, adopted by the legislatures of both states and with the formal consent of Congress, approved by the President, creating a single commission, with authority extending to all the municipalities concerned, to plan, improve, supervise and regulate the uses of the Port of New York as a whole and all its waterfront, existing and possible. That authority has been constituted and is now engaged in its work. This having been done it is now, for the first time, possible to break the strangle-hold of the municipal government of New York City upon the production of the state and of the country, which seeks a market among the great city population, or entrance into foreign trade through the great seaport of the state and of the country, which seeks a market among the great city population, or entrance into foreign trade through the great seaport of the state. Temmany H Miller, and as Governor and commissioner has been warmly in favor of the project. The legislatures of both states were for it; Congress was for it; the Governor was for it; the President of the United States was for it; the people in general, tired of abuses, are for it; but Tammany is against it, because while it helps the public it hurts Tammany. Of course Tammany fights it. So the Barbary pirates fought to preserve their system of levying tribute upon commerce.

commerce.

There seems in some quarters to be an idea that the people of the City of New York constitute a nation temporarily under subjection to an alien power but entitled to self-determination.

This is an error. The territory which by provisions of the statutes of the state is included within the political limits of the City of New York is a part of the territory of the State of New York, and it is a part

of the territory of the United States of America, and no other sovereignty exists within that territory. The municipal government of New York is purely an agency of the state, and it derives its authority solely from the sovereign state. Safe harbors which give access to and from the sea have been through all the history of have been through all the history of civilization among the most valuable assets of a nation. The harbor of New York is one of the chief of these assets of a nation. The harbor of New York is one of the chief of these assets of our state and of our nation. Nobody can take that asset away merely by making a residence in the vicinity. Because that port is the chief gateway of the commerce of the United States a city has grown up upon the islands and shores of the harbor. The city owes its origin to the fact that the commerce of the country flows to and from the harbor. But for that commerce the territory which we call the city would be inhabited only by a few farmers and fishermen. The city must owe its future existence to the continuance of that commerce. It has no faculty of independent life. If the port of New York were to cease to perform its primary function as the gateway of the nation's commerce, and the flow of commerce were to cease, the inhabitants of the city must disperse and go elsewhere in scarch of food and occupation. The people living in that territory are the keepers of the gate for the nation. They constitute a part of a great national organization of production and trade, just as every farm and every manufactory and every railroad in the country is a part of that organization. Upon the continued and prosperous working of that organization as a whole depend the prosperity and the lives of all the people of the state. If its powers are so exercised as to prevent rather than to promote the welfare of the are so exercised as to prevent rather than to promote the welfare of the people of the state from which they are derived, good sense requires that the state shall make such changes as are necessary to get its husiness done properly. The creation of the new Port Authority is a step in that direc-Port Authority is a step in that direc-tion. It rests upon the authority of complete sovereignty over the terri-tory affected. It is to be observed, however, that if Tammany Hall se-cures control of the government of the State of New York at the coming election she will easily strangle the Port of New York Authority and leave Tammany in the undisturbed possession of control over our com-merce.

For years we have been talking about using our water power in the state to make and distribute electricity. A million available horsepower from other than boundary streams is the estimate. I recall many weary and tumultuous hours of discussion over the subject at the Constitutional Convention of 1894 in this city. Discussion has continued ever since: Convention of 1894 in this city. Discussion has continued ever since; some for development by the state and some for development by individual enterprise, and not enough momentum either way to actually do anything. Twenty-eight years have passed since we were discussing the subject in the convention of 1894, and every day for twenty-eight years a million horsepower has been going to waste. At last decision of character has come to end irresolution, and during this administration laws have been passed and appropriations have been passed and appropriations have been made to promptly utilize for the benefit of the people of the state this enormous wealth; laws under which the government of the state itself

develops the surplus power of the water required by it for canal purposes; and laws under which private owners may develop their own water-power and manufacture electricity, subject, nevertheless, to the supervision and control of the government of the state, both as to the distribution of the electricity and the charges to be made for it. A million dollars has already been appropriated under the first head, and more than a score of licenses have already been applied for under the second. Great wars have been fought and great countries have been for the state by the ending of the profligate indecision under which we have suffered for all these years of wasted waterpower.

which we have suffered for all these years of wasted waterpower.

I am not seeking to enumerate the things this state administration has done, but rather to illustrate its character. In every direction the same capacity has been exhibited in construction work, with economy of expenditure. The support of universal public education has been continued with enlarged liberality. The construction of good roads has been doubled. The maintenance of good roads already constructed has been systematized and made effective. Rapid transit problems have been cared for. The workmen's compensation law has been made doubly effective by making the compensation promptly available. Practical and broad-minded welfare legislation has been enacted, notably the establishment of children's courts and child welfare boards. Full compensation has been provided for farm animals destroyed because dangerous to health. Public health service has been brought to a condition of highest efficiency, with the mortality rate at the lowest point—12.2 per thousand—and with 2.313 fewer babies, less than a year old, dead in 1922 than in the preceding year.

Miller Proved Leadership

# By Real Accomplishments

In a hundred ways throughout the

By Real Accomplishments

In a hundred ways throughout the state service one can note the indications that the officers and agents of the state are interested in doing well the thing they were elected or appointed to do.

I do not claim for Governor Miller and the state officers in his administration, nor for the Republican Senate and Assembly, which have worked harmoniously with him, that they originated and alone espoused all the different projects which I have described. Many of these projects have been worked over for years and many a former officer of the state is entitled to credit for what he has done about them. What I do claim is; that this administration has charged the spirit of the state government—has expelled the spirit of favor and brought in the spirit of favor and brought in the spirit of service; that with discrimination and decision of character the power which always goes with a sincere and unwavering devotion to a righteous purpose has brought all hands concerned in the state government to work together for the definitive accomplishment of these great and useful things for the benefit of the state. You can't have the momentum of united action fiecessary to achieve great results among all the good and honorable men connected with the government of the State of New York in all its departments there was none who could change that sad attitude of lying down upon the government for favors save under the leadership of the Governor of the state. Governor Miller gave that leadership, and was followed by loyal men in the Legislature and in the departments, and the change has been made. The question is whether they approve it. They do approve it. The question is whether they approve it. They do approve it to gain or some special object to gain or some special deader to promote and enforce reward those who serve them and punish

great public, mildly approving the public servant who has fought un-selfishly for the public interest, assumes that everything will be all sumes that everything will be all right and gives him no protection. Is that going to happen now? Are the voters of New York willing that it should happen? Governor Miller and the loyal men in the Legislature and the department who have stood with him have made apparts by the stood with the him have made enemies by the re-fusal of favors, and their enemies will in devious ways seek to injure them—are seeking now to injure they. They are to be punished not nominally, but really, for economy in public office. Are voters of the state going to permit that or are they

# Miller Proved Leadership

cial object to gain or some special idea to promote and enforce reward those who serve them and punish those who oppose them; while the public office. Are voters of the state going to permit that or are they going to take the trouble to stand by their faithful servants? What are the women voters, now in the period of demonstrating their usefulness, going to do about that? Are they willing that we should go back to a period of liberal distribution of government money, with popularity much abounding and taxation increasing? Their action is vastly important for the future. You can't have loyalty unless you are loyal. If a community is unwilling to stand by the public servants who have maintained the interests of the community against private interests, it soon will find its indifference reflected in the action of its public officers.

cers.

Let no one suppose that this is a matter of mere dollars and cents.

It is a matter of public morals. This

# Miller--As He Is Seen by Root

### "He Has Perfect Courage. He Never Talks for the Galleries and He Commands Belief."

"Governor Miller knew the public business of the state. He did not

have to depend upon the ex parte statement of any bureau chief or any interested party in the state's transactions. He knew the life of the state and its people, its politics and politicians, its business and business men, its farm life and its city life, its production and its trade. To an active and alert intelligence he adds a trained faculty for thorough and systematic study of difficult questions and a cheerful willingness to do hard work. He always knaws where he stands and is able to command the confidence which comes from the consciousness of knowing the true conditions with which he has to deal. "He has perfect courage; not the kind of courage to which a man has to

be keyed up by excitement; not the kind of courage by which a man succeeds in overcoming fear; but the habitual and instinctive courage which leads a man to do his duty without thinking at all what is going to happen to him. He is not only considerate and fair in the performance of his official duties, but the sincerity and firmness of his character carry to others a conviction that they may expect justice in his treatment of them. He is free from the infirmities of temper which breed hatred and the subtleties which invite suspicion and distrust. He has the frankness and truth natural to courage. He is simple and direct in speech, without duplicity-He never talks for the galleries. And he commands belief. He has perfect indifference to his own political future. He is thinking about his jobnot about himself. He is not playing the part of Governor in order to be President or Senator or to be re-elected Governor. He is simply doing what he thinks is wise and just and for the benefit of the people of the state. He did not seek the office of Governor-it sought him. He is not seeking office now—it is seeking him."—From Elihu Root's keynote speech at Albany.

new and prosperous undertaking the enforce the principles of public morality in the government of the state will continue with the approvation of the good people of this state of it will fail because the people are too indifferent to express their approvation at the polls, and its success of failure will be felt not only in the future government at Albany but it will be felt in a higher or lower standard of public morals; it will be felt in a higher or lower general estimate of the value of honor and loyalty in public affairs.

## Harding the Natural

## Leader in Reconstruction

Before I close let me say some-thing about national affairs.
What were the things America needed most in March, 1921? I think there were five needs of the first or-der of importance:

First—To have ended the suto-cratic method of government con-sented to for the Durpose of carry-ing on the war, and the habits and modes of thought and action which had grown up during that suto-racy.

racy.
Second—To have abolished the immensely extravagant scale of expenditure established during the war, and to have restored in its place economy in the conduct of government.

and to have restored in its place economy in the conduct of government.

Third—To have normal production resumed through the restoration a will to industry throughout the country, and such industrial readjustment as might be necessary.

Fourth—To have international peace established.

Fifth—To have for all of us recovery and convalescence from the condition of feverish excitement incident to the war, and a restoration of the American people to their normal condition of cool-headed, practical good sense.

All of these things required the exercise of moral forces. Neithes pure reason nor brute force could accomplish the desired results. States of mind had to be changed, and that cannot be done by order or by statute. We were a fortunate people to have brought to the head of our national government just at this time a man who by temperament and disposition was naturally adnoted to leadership in this reseatablishment of the modes of thought and action through which the greatiness of our country has been produced and must be continued.

Mr. Harding put an end to autocracy by refusing to be an autocrat. In the first place he selected a Cabinet of extraordinary strength and power, a Cabinet far above the avenage of capacity. He was not afraid to have about him men who as themselves individually the objects of public confidence and respect. He was not afraid to have make a matter of course, and he was big enough to accept that refugered to control the government of the course.

about him who would tell him took truth as a matter of course, and lewas big enough to accept that return the profit by it. He was not so desired to control the government of the limited States as he was to do within full duty as a part of that rernment, observant of the limitation of his official power, which he lieves, and I am sure we all belifies, and I am sure we all belifies of our free government. So, while he exercised the full function of our free government. So, while he expressed formally and formally with the utmost frank and decision his own opinion governmental policy, while he lowed those opinions in his own ficial conduct, he never attempted a usurp the official powers of other or to use compulsion or threat punishment. He was earnest a strong and persistent in carryout the policies he thought wise the was not a tyrant by nature. He had no weakness toward that visual had no characterized always by genuine good nature, consideration, and with human sympathy which it is so dif-ficult for any one to imitate success-

good nature, consideration, and with human sympathy which it is sedificult for any one to imitate successfully very long.

The Presidency of the United States is so powerful an office that the whole government has to adjustitself to a great degree to the President's way of doing business. With that process of readjustment unders the benign influence of President Harding autocracy disappeared from the government of America.

There is a strong tendency in about the man on horseback—the sate of craft. The multitude of reakings love to lean upon a man of that was and to follow him, but free, popular, self-government cannot be carried on in that way. There can be no free republic with the spirit of usure tion, of hatred and revenge, but only in the spirit of respect and kindly consideration for the rights, the authority and the opinions of almone's fellows.

Some useful things which have remained undone might perhaps have been done, and some things might have been done, and some things might have been done better during the past eighteen months by the application of autocratic methods in our government; some Senators and Congressmen might have been congressible things would have been of infinitesimal consequence compared with the injury of autocratic methods that would have perpetuated the autocratic habit, and compared with the fact that the President's refusit to use those methods has brought us back to the sound basis of limited powers upon which our institutions rest.

Coercion in Strikes

# Coercion in Strikes

Not To Be Tolerated

Not To Be Tolerated

I need not dwell upon the revolution in administration and legislation which has brought our government from the basis of proflights expenditure 'n the basis of careful expenditure' n the basis of careful economy. The figures of government retrenchment already pass the fine beyond which amounts are so vast that our minds become incapable of measuring them. With Andrew Mellon holding the shield of protection over the Treasury, and General Charles Dawes, with accurate knowledge and torrential enthusiasm wielding the sword of a Crusader multitudes of superfluous employee have crowded the roads away from Washington, and the government establishment is resuming its natural and healthy dimensions.

We are all employers and laborers and the general public is apt to be impatient about strikes. So long as strikes were a contest between laborers and employers to secure for laborits fair share of the new wealth which has come to mankind throat invention and discovery and the application of science and the art of organization, the sympathies of the American public were with labor. When a strike becomes an attempt to

office; while he expressed formally and informally with the utmost frankness and decision his own opinions of governmental policy; while he followed those opinions in his own official conduct, he never attempted to usurp the official powers of others or to use compulsion of threats or punishment. He was earnest and strong and persistent in carrying out the policies he thought wise, but he was not a tyrant by nature. He had no weakness toward that vice so hateful whether in public or in private life. He would listen to anybody, consider everybody's point of view and then decide himself, and when he had decided he was inflexible. His intercourse with public men and private citizens, great and small, rich and poor, is characterized always by genuine good nature, consideration and with human

sympathy, which it is so difficult for any one to imitate successfully very "The Presidency of the United States is so powerful an office that the whole government has to adjust itself to a great degree to the President's way of doing business. With that process of readjustment under the benign influence of President Harding, autocracy disappeared from the government of America."-From Elihu Root's keynote speech at Albany.

"Under His Benign Influence Autocracy Dis-

appeared From the Government of America."

a Cabinet far above the average of capacity. He was not afraid to have about him men who are themselves individually the objects of public con-

fidence and respect. He was not afraid to take advice; he sought it, and

was glad to get it. He was not afraid to have men about him who would

tell him the truth as a matter of course, and he was big enough to accept

that and profit by it. He was not so desirous to control the government of

the United States as he was to do well his full duty as a part of that gov-

ernment, observant of the limitations of his official power, which he believes,

and I am sure we all believe, to be essential to the preservation of our

"So, while he exercised the full function of leadership incident to his

"Mr. Harding put an end to autocracy by refusing to be an autocrat, In the first place he selected a Cabinet of extraordinary strength and power;